/39 cont'd/

535 In the evening of the last day of the year, in the kitchen, in
302 front of the fireplace and before the image of the god of the hearth, they plait the bride's hair in the fashion of married women. The groom arrives, the whole family is together; the engaged couple kneel and bow three times to the god of the hearth. The marriage ceremony is completed! They prostrate themselves to their parents and to the whole family; a little extra is served at the meal, and they wish one another better days and a return of good fortune.

463 On the first days of the new year the parents invite the go-
465 between, they dine the best they can, they pour gin, and the young
58 couple prostrate themselves to him. Then they offer the go-between the usual present of the poor, either a string of cash or a string of cash and 400 cash. They make excuses for the little that they can offer, they thank him effusively, and then they have discharged their obligations.

585 When the bride's family is very poor, it happens that the groom's family (mother-in-law and go-between) take the girl to their home when she is only nine or ten years old or even younger. They keep her in the family as an unmarried girl until she has reached 15; /40/ then the last day of the year she is married as described above. Marriage without ceremonies is also practiced in the month of the year when there is a sudden death near the time of the wedding in one of the families of the engaged couple; the same would the girl's parents die; then the groom's family hastens to take the girl home to marry her when she is about 15.

765 Among the more Chinese [illegible]ion, upon the death of the
585 parents of one of the parties a few days before the wedding, they follow the Chinese custom, which consists in celebrating the marriage without paying attention to the death. The festivities take place with the usual vigor. Only on the day after the wedding do the lamentations and the great mourning begin; the death is announced everywhere and preparations for the funeral are made.

[38 cont.]

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[Note on foreign text p. 41 cont.] torma that at the conclusion of the tsam dance on New Year's is carried off and burned as the murdered enemy of the religion. -- They also call the mandala-figure torma, for instance, during the erection of the pole-goat. -- The fact that the torma has a sacral function for only a brief time explains why it is no longer given any attention after the ceremonies, but is thrown away, given to the animals to eat, or even eaten by the people themselves.

Insofar as I was able to establish among the Tujen, the tormas are always made only of tsamba and butter, and not, as Filchner (Unkrig) writes, loc. cit., out of sour dough. It may be that this kind of preparation is peculiar to the monasteries.

The cult implements of the hutukhtu are the same as those he uses at home in the monastery, to wit, the holy water-can with the peacock feather, the hourglass drum, the thunderbolt, and the hand bell. He always has these things ready at hand on the table. He always holds his mani-string in his hand. While praying he does not sit at the side, but behind the table, on the kang and facing the door. He lays his prayer book in front of him on his knees or on the kang table. Sometimes he also gives the [788] water blessing while the others prepare the tormas. For this purpose he has pure spring water poured into the [39] holy can; one of the assistants throws consecrated spices into it and places the can on a little plate with Tibet barley. The lama then recites the prayer of blessing over it.

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Prayer fee: During the time of his stay the lama is entertained very hospitably. The master of the household, who is also called "master of gifts," must serve him personally. The

[39 cont.]
792 lama, however, does not have his principal meal at noon, like
796 the other guests, but only in the late afternoon. In order to en-
465 tertain him men and women dance and sing in the yard. Only
[574] in the case of very high hutukhtus is there no dancing.

[535] On the last day, after the lama's morning meal, but while he is still drinking tea on the kang, the master of gifts appears with the ceremonial helpers and with many words expresses his gratitude for the visit and the prayer. Then he hands him a tray with the gifts, over which a hada is spread, and the master of gifts announces what the lama is receiving for his services. This hada over the tray is called "speech hada." The things are put in front of the lama on the table and kowtows are made three times. The assistants, too, receive appropriate gifts.

The fee varies according to the wealth of the master of gifts, the position of the lama, and the ceremonies performed. Usually it consists of several back-baskets of bread (5), some

5. [Foreign text p. 42.] A back-basket holds 24 loaves. The red cloth is for the lama's clothing. Why only grain and money are thought of as a unity and designated by the same name, mbō, is unclear to me. According to the DMF, it comes from the Tibetan p'ogs, "fee."

pieces of mutton (4), silver money, and red cloth. Wealthy

[262] 4. [Foreign text p. 42.] Although
[782] Buddhism prohibits killing, the lamas, as well as the hutukhtus, eat flesh in all forms, as I repeatedly was able to observe. In the monastery Kuo-mang-szu I once noted that a sacrificial sheep, skinned and eviscerated, was set on a sacrificial table in front of the temple door. During

[39 cont.] —

[Note on foreign text p. 42 cont.] the subsequent prayer ceremonies, the master of gifts, who had sacrificed this sheep, had the flesh cooked and a piece served to each of the monks in the temple during a pause in the prayer. It is therefore not surprising that the lama receives a loin of mutton for his fee. Since the Tujen, however, do not sacrifice a sheep in the presence of a lama (cf. the chapter, "The Mani-tree"), it seems to be a matter of not performing the killing itself before the eyes of the lama or in the same yard.

people give much more, for instance, beautiful horses, ornamental pendants, cloth, etc. When it is a matter of great occasions, a prayer service is even ordered for the monastery during the time that the lama stays with the master of gifts. During these days the master of gifts provides all the monks with rice, sugar, butter, and tea. Even pilgrims who stay in the monastery during these days and "stop in" to honor and to pray for the master of gifts are provided for and also receive alms for the journey.

The masters of gifts also usually donate the prayer tea for the entire monastery, which is drunk during the ceremonial in the prayer hall, for example, at funerals, etc. Often they also set up a great number of butter-lamps in the temple at this time, or at least they donate the butter for the lamps. [Fig. 6 appears here.]

Return: After the lama has received his gifts, he is ceremonially escorted out of the gate of the yard. An incense offering is again presented, but otherwise no further ceremonies take place. The white horse is brought up, a kang table with a felt mat is set up for mounting, and the lama is lifted into the saddle. Then the men escort him out of the village. There

[39 cont.]
792 is no actual escort in a procession with horses as at the reception. The lama rides back alone with his monks. Only the gifts are brought after him on animals.

[40] The hutukhtus are always received in this festive manner. Lesser lamas, for instance, those who come just to pray at an obo, are accorded a simple reception. A similar procedure is followed for the Bon priests, shamans, and soothsayers. They are not fetched ceremonially, and they are given only a moderate fee.

351 Taboo of the compound: At many prayer ceremonies of the lama, the compound is forbidden to strangers. This is called "to forbid the door." Whoever is not present at the beginning of the performance may not enter the yard. On the other hand, people who were in the yard from the beginning may later come and go freely (7). In order to mark the yard as

7. [Foreign text p. 42.] According to other statements, this applies only to the occupants of the house. Guests who go away may not return.

prohibited (taboo), the master of the household attaches a cypress or fir twig or a sieve to the gate of the yard (8).

8. [Foreign text p. 42.] The informant

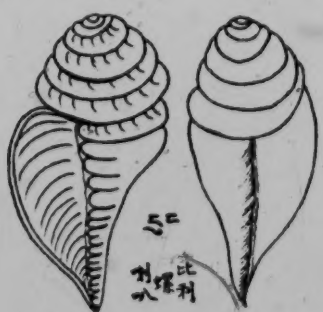

Fig. 6. Shells.

(Drawing of a Tujen.)

3: Schröder--164 M-5 (1946-1949)1952-1953 AE9 Monguor AE9

192 [628 cont.]
527 The welcoming of joy: ying hsi (Chin.).

[Pages 628-629 contain the notes given above as numbered footnotes.]

[630]

4. The Age-blessing*

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* See "Notes," pp. 634-635 [of the foreign text]. [In the translation these notes are given as numbered footnotes following the designations for them in the text.]

Report

[792] Old people, men and women, invite the lama to bless and instruct them. This is a great family festival. It is prepared a long time in advance.

On a certain day acquaintances and relatives come and bring the old person presents and gratulate him. They are
[574] treated with tea and cake. There is singing and dancing and a feast is held. The young people fetch the hutukhtu. When he arrives, the women of the village dance, and incense is burned in the yard. The hutukhtu blesses the guests at the feast and the old person.

In the afternoon the age-consecration is performed. The hutukhtu makes a number of tormas, which are carried off. Then the old person kneels on the felt mat before the hutukhtu, is blessed with holy water, receives instructions, and is girdled with a yellow sash. He then resembles a lay monk. The mother's
[792] brother determines what compensation the hutukhtu is to receive.
[465] The next morning the hutukhtu returns to his monastery.

The consecrated person must now observe special com-
[785] mandments, must withdraw on the first and fifteenth of the month for meditation, and fast and pray. -- Not all people can afford this celebration, for it is very expensive.

[632 cont.]

527 candidate out into the yard and throw it away. The mother's
778 brother stays there, and after that only own children still appear.
888 They stand or kneel in the side room behind the person to be
792 consecrated and shut the door, because only a few people may be present. Only the person to be consecrated remains in the lama-room, kneeling before the kang.

The candidate for consecration now washes himself again in the manner described above, is again sprinkled with holy water, and has Tibetan barley thrown at him. The master of ceremonies takes an iron spoon, puts in it some of the red-hot material from the fire-basin of the lama, scatters pounded cypress incense on it, and the lama throws fragrant spices over [783] it. The person to be consecrated is fumigated all around with this and is now completely pure. The hutukhtu gives the consecration prayer over him and instructs him regarding the com- [785] mandments that he must observe from now on. These commandments relate to fasting, abstention, the prohibition against killing, prayer, etc. They vary somewhat for men and women. [633] The instruction is given in the Tujen language so that the candidate will understand it.

[292] Now follows the donning of the yellow sash. It is about a hand wide and four to five ells long. It is not supposed to be silk. Silk mixed with cotton is permitted, but usually it is cotton. The candidate must provide it himself. This sash lies before the hutukhtu on the kang table and is fumigated at the same time as the person to be consecrated. It is not sprinkled with holy water. The assisting lama places the sash over the candidate's left shoulder and ties it together under the right arm [292] with a yellow string that has likewise been fumigated. The cloth has the same name as the loop of cloth that the lamas throw over the shoulder.

Since the consecration does not take place until late afternoon, it has meanwhile become evening. Only now does the hutukhtu partake of the main meal. In the yard, however, the guests gather around the fire, warm their liquor, and sing and dance into the night.

The next morning the hutukhtu performs his usual morn- [465] ing prayers, drinks tea, and receives his prayer fee: several

[633 cont.]
back-baskets of bread, meat, money, etc. -- The guests have already each received a piece of meat or fat and four pieces of oil-baking after the feast the day before. The mother's brother, the daughters' husbands, and their sons receive eight oil-loaves, a larger piece of meat, and a hada, for they brought the candidate more gifts than the others. -- After the morning meal the hutukhtu returns to his monastery. He is not accompanied, but the gifts are taken to the monastery for him. A large kettle of tea is donated for the monks there and lamp-butter for the temple gods (3).

3. [Foreign text p. 634.] From this it is apparent how expensive the age-consecration is. For this reason alone it is very much respected. I recall the case of a young man who organized this festival for his aged mother. The people said: "The poor wretch wants to ruin his fortune for the sake of such respect. That would-be-great." On the festive day itself, however, they eagerly participated.

Duties and privileges of the consecrated person: The consecrated person is regarded as a lay lama or lay nun. Therefore, after death he is solemnly cremated in the crematorium blessed by the hutukhtu. The hutukhtu who consecrated him receives 12 steamed loaves and three tagur loaves when his candidate's death is reported and must pray especially for him. He also usually performs the death ceremonies.

Now for the rest of his life the consecrated person may no longer drink alcohol, smoke, eat eggs or the meat of animals that have died or chicken meat; he is only allowed to eat the meat of slaughtered animals. He must abstain from sexual intercourse and every month he must withdraw for meditation. This is done on the first and fifteenth day; they are fast days and days of meditation. Usually the eighth day of the month is also added. On these days he solemnly makes the

[636 cont.]

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[Note on foreign text pp. 652-653 cont.] yellow shoulder-cloth, on the other hand, which a dead person with age-consecration wears, must be burned with the corpse, just like the sash that he received at that time.

this must be done while the corpse is still flexible. Once it is rigid, it maintains its position virtually unchanged.

The death-box. The death-box is made either long be-
[171] fore death or not until death has taken place, as among the Chinese where the coffin is sometimes ready decades before-
[735] hand. Only poor people do not make the death-box until after the death. The box is always made of wood, but it does not matter what kind of wood it is made of; after all, it is not buried, as is the coffin among the Chinese, but is burned with the dead person. The box has the height of a litter or sedan chair; the dead person fits exactly into it. The bottom of the box extends into four carrying beams, [637] similar to a
[532] flat litter. The box [illustration appears here], however is not
[171] a simple wooden chest, but represents a small temple with roof and doors and often very rich carving, similar to death-box of the Chinese bonze (6). Unlike the latter, however, it has a sun

6. [Foreign text p. 653.] in the case of the coffin of the Taoshih the sun-moon attachment, the movable back wall, and the carrying pole are lacking. The corpse is usually put inside through the front door or from above, because the roof piece is removable.

and moon in the center of the roof, similar to the tip of a mani-pole; this is generally regarded as necessary. The box
[556] is painted and decorated according to the wealth, piety, and
[322] affection of the relatives.

There are no definite ritual prescriptions for the prep-
[465] aration of the box. The carpenter receives the usual fee for

764 [637 cont.]
465 his work and, in addition, twelve
322 loaves of bread, two ells of white cloth, and a small measure of wheat (six pounds). After the work is done, this measure of wheat is put on the household altar, and the carpenter puts his tools on it. The master of the household sticks a few burning incense-sticks among them and puts the loaves before them. Then everyone makes a three-

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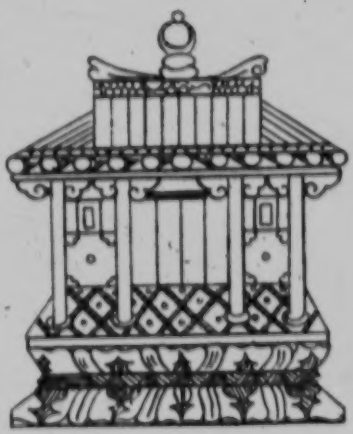

Death-box
(Drawing of a Tujen)

fold kowtow (7). The carpenter does not receive the white cloth until the funeral meal.

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7. [Foreign text p. 653.] This ceremony actually has nothing to do with the death-box. It is customary after all carpentry work; it is done to honor the tutelary god of the carpenter, Lu-pan-yeh. It is a Chinese custom.

764 Lying in state: If the box is already available at death, the corpse is immediately put in it. If it is not yet ready, then the people put the dead in a crouching position on the kang or on the floor of the room in which he died. First, however, they lay down a white felt mat as a pad; straw is not used. No one may sleep or live in the same room with the dead, only in an adjoining room. A table with 12 loaves of bread, which come from the deceased's own family, and a water-lamp stand before the crouching corpse.

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Putting the corpse in the box is always done by men. The son puts his father and mother inside. The father, however, never puts his son in; that is taken care of by the young brothers or cousins.

[639 cont.]

764 782 792 The official prayer-service is undertaken by a lama, if possible by a hutukhtu. He is given a room of his own in the house of mourning, which ordinarily immediately adjoins the room in which the corpse is laid out, so that he can remain on the kang when he recites the office of the dead. A lama never prays directly before the corpse. A hutukhtu visits the house of mourning only on the day before the cremation, and stays there only one night. He also always undertakes the ceremonial cremation with the fire-pouring. Other lamas, on the other hand, may perform services in the house of mourning several days before.

[177] In recent times the Tujen also invite Chinese bonzes for the prayers. They adhere to their own rites. It also happens that bonzes and lamas are invited at the same time. Then the prayer rite is mixed. A cremation, however, is never carried out without some religious officiant first giving the prayers for the dead (12). Lamas of lower rank, who may not undertake the

12. [Foreign text p. 654.] The Tujen have no difficulties in inviting representatives of various religions for prayers. I was even requested once to give the Christian office of the dead. -- On the other hand, the Chinese Buddhists also invite the lamas to give prayers for the dead.

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fire-pouring, or bonzes do not go along to the place of cremation, but remain in the house of mourning.

764 782 792 For the prayer, the relatives, lamas, and bonzes receive a corresponding honorarium which is usually fixed by the mother's brother on the occasion of the demand for an accounting during the last mourning meal. The Chinese bonzes, 465 to be sure, demand a fixed fee immediately upon being invited; otherwise they do not come at all. The other persons [604] who say prayers, assistants at the cremation, etc. receive compensation in the form of alms on the eve of the cremation or on the morning after the cremation.

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764 Hutukhtus and lamas of higher rank often harvest very large fees; there are people who donate up to two or three horses.
782 When the relatives accompany the lamas back to the monastery,
792 they take along a block of brick tea and boil it in the large
465 temple kettle for the monks, who sometimes also receive their own stipends so that they will pray for the dead. Wealthy people
[272] buy up to 300 pounds of rice for this purpose, cook it in the
[262] temple kitchen with sugar and butter, and feed the lamas with it. In addition, each monk receives a bowl of tsamba with pats of butter. It is popular then to light butter-lamps in front of the
[788] temple statues, sometimes up to 1,000 of them. Often a large month-lamp is donated, which burns uninterruptedly day and night for 29 days; during this time the monastery holds the
[556] prayer service for the dead. -- Well-to-do families also donate to the monastery the elegant clothing and the ornaments of the dead, especially of the women. A lama then attaches the name of the deceased to the garments and puts them in front of a
[432] Buddha image in the temple. The garments are later sold by the monastery. With the proceeds the monks hold further prayer services for the rest of the soul of the deceased.

764 Demand for an accounting by the mother's family:
602 Whereas the bereaved of the deceased's own family maintain a watch night and day kneeling beside the box (13), the relatives

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13. [Foreign text p. 654.] This custom of the deathwatch also seems to be influenced by the Chinese. The bereaved kneel on straw to the right and left of the box, just as the Chinese kneel to the right and left of the exposed corpse. At night they huddle together and put a clay brick or tile underneath as a pillow, after the old Chin. saying: ch'in san, chen k'uai, that is, to sleep on straw, to put a (clay)-brick underneath. -- The deathwatch is compulsory for the generation that owes repsect, called

[640 cont.]

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[Note on foreign text p. 654 cont.] hsiao-tzu in Chinese, who are the male descendants and relatives of the first and second degree, for example, younger brothers, younger cousins, grandsons.

on the mother's side do not appear in the house of mourning until the eve of the cremation.

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They must be informed, however, immediately after the death; this is called "death announcement." The master of ceremonies, with a small bottle of liquor, goes to the mother's brother to announce the death of the latter's nephew or niece (14).

14. [Foreign text p. 654.] In recent times the Tujen announce the death to the mother's brother by means of a written communication, like the Chinese. The original practice, however, is the announcement with the liquor-jug, to which is tied a flock of wool.

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The two now consult as to how the funeral solemnities are to be arranged, how many monks are to be invited to pray, how large the fees are to be, etc. The mother's brother is intent upon setting demands as high as possible, whereas the master of ceremonies sets lower ones. Once they have agreed upon

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the approximate level, they drink the little jug of liquor together. If they do not agree, the master of ceremonies returns home with the liquor and he receives new instructions from the bereaved family. Sometimes this happens two or three times. A final arrangement is not made until the last day at the accounting in the house of mourning.

On the eve of the cremation, the mother's brother, and with him all the male relatives on the mother's side, appears in the yard of the bereaved. The women among the maternal

[646 cont.]

764 the little bones go into it, however, for it is only an ell long and two handbreadths high. The lid is pegged down, like a Chinese coffin. The remaining bones are carried by hand, aprons, or in a back-basket to the nearest mountain height. Animals as a rule do not eat them because they are burned. Only sheep like to nibble on them. The bones decompose very rapidly, however.

The bone-chest is placed in the oven, weighted down with clay bricks, and then the oven is torn down so that it forms a little mound with the chest buried under it. This is always done if the cremation has taken place after the harvest during the period before the grave festival in the third month.

[765 769] At the grave festival, the Chinese ch'ing-ming, the bone-chest is buried in the communal family cemetery. The place of the cremation is leveled.

If the cremation is after the grave festival, then the oven is, to be sure, torn down and the place again cultivated, but the bone-chest is not buried at the place of the oven, but on a remote ridge of arable land in a field belonging to

[765] the deceased's own family. Only at the next grave festival in the following year is it transferred to the family cemetery.

If the cremation has taken place on a distant mountain far from the family, then a tent is pitched there to wait until the third day, the bones are stored, and the chest is brought down in order to bury it on the ridge of a field on one's

[776 778 823] own land. Such a cremation may never be undertaken on the peak of a mountain, but about halfway up. The peak is sacred to the mountain-spirit and may not be desecrated.

If the bone-chest has been buried in the oven or field, then the relatives burn white paper before it, throw pieces of bread on the bone-grave, and pour out tea before it for the dead. Then they kowtow and go home. The guests are treated with tsamba and butter in the house of mourning. The

[465] master of ceremonies receives 12 loaves of bread and two ells of white cloth; the two fire guards are given six loaves each and two ells of cloth.

[824 cont.]

241 789 791 [778] This is the ceremonial erection of the pole-goat. In the case of the simple type only one misfortune-torma is made, which represents the four others; there is also the weather-torma. The mountain-torma is omitted and no magical wedges are tied to the goat.

When one has undertaken the ceremonial erection, the [782] Bon priest must come often during the summer and hold prayer services before the pole-goat. In the autumn, after the harvest, [465] he receives from each family a certain measure of grain as compensation. In the case of the simple erection, without any summer prayer, only on the day itself is he given a large loaf of bread and a piece of meat from the loin of the goat.

Details

241 789 791 787 Time: The time of the erection is determined by the soothsayer, and in the local temple. It always falls in the period from the thirteenth day in the fifth lunar month to the sixth day in the sixth lunar month. One may also let the Bon priest determine the day. He uses three dice for this. He compares the numbers thrown with his soothsaying book and in this manner determines a day (2).

2. [Foreign text p. 829.] The time coincides with that in which the Chinese put their weather forts in order and drive in the thunderbolts (ch'a p'ai).

241 789 778 [621] [791] Place: The pole-goat is always erected on the highest mountain in the people's own local area, and only on one mountain and only one goat. Small hamlets or compounds may do it together; then the highest mountain of all these hamlets is chosen (1). -- The spot on the mountain itself is indicated by

1. [Foreign text p. 829.] If the mountain is too far away, one sets up a tent and lives there.